

857/140 cont. / be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during
a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not
eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown
up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that
when they are grown up they will marry and have many
children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious
instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran.
Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the
back of the house.

593 One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
867 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back
part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that
the children make no noise. When an important man is in
the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little
children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is
angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old
who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at
you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this
fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration
for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in
another. When a karaeng comes for a visit to the house of
the adat community head, his little son may run around and
perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of
kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the
women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not
good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is
asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated
as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to
this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42
years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54,
55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name,
sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the
tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving
school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place
of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only
school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than
14, 000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led
a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils
was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the
school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately
soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of
whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls.
The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the
Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the
school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there
was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single
assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes
in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by
itself.

114 /256 cont. / Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was
laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29, illness; for 23,
transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the
parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact
that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead.

[115] Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

[125] /257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant,
[115] the school director himself, was very well informed about
local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar,
in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged.
But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concern-
ing the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investi-
gate this matter in another way.

871 There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils
who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong
during those years and the distance that these children had to
cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow
here:

- 80 from Bontomanai itself
- 77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
- 25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
- 24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
- 20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
- 15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
- 13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
- 8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
- 5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
- 4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
- 3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining
adat community.

- 2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
- 1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from
Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school.
The children therefore went there.

[487] All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai
by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampung, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

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217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampung head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon,
while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were
perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much
irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run some-
thing like this. First people become panas hati [literally,
hot livered, i. e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill some-
one, and finally become all right. They consider themselves
not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and
thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control
just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools
rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they
are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked
a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip).
There are village schools for the first three years. Then
students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka
which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama
[(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are
taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the
feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competi-
tion with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond
the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to
Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no
scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the
désa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the
sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something
like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered
followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten
years, if a further education is desired, students must go to
Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for désa
school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go
to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as
in the United States. There is a need for schools in every
town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
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- 621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
632 it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
101 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
131 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
102 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]
- 871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.
- 131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.
- 368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.
- 632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush the, are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, although the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. 157 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. 326 Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths. 159

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict 584 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly 834 but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cakling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too.

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I asked whether the range of distance from which the people come to market has increased with the use of buses. They said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place.

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As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampung. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f. 50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampung has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in the village. I asked about their support. They said that the arug gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

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123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming
masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this
point. I said that they needed business education, and they
saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great
extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only
hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent
over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kam-
pong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it.
In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers
and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told
them about the Javanese using these without giving up Moham-
medanism, and although they could see the point they responded
in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This
also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge
training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.

502 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None
speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach
classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They
saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over
Dutch because it is an international language. They said that
all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read
the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they
read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them
when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak
Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can
understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can under-
stand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman
characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say
all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I
wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about
this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the
farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling
library here before the war, and also a library in
Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not even write letters here. They did not know that their script came from India originally, and they were surprised when I gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach their own language to their children and the latter also learn Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Nevertheless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone go a lot. The prices are: f. 2 for the first [i.e., best seats--Analyst], f. 1 for the second, and f. 0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

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521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no political life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

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178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

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178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large

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171 families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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